1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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his aunt, Doña Feliciana Bautista, and his uncle, Don Antonio Sánchez. Agustín also afforded fascinating data himself, as we were able to observe closely the process of his assimilation into the culture and life of the community. In the course of the study, he changed from a not untypical United States high school graduate into a pretty typical resident of Cherán.

A particular debt of gratitude is also due Pedro Chávez. A native of Cherán, Sr. Chávez had been educated in a Government boarding school and was serving as a school teacher. Owing to the lack of facilities, he was able to teach only at night, and he spent his days aiding in the investigation, without compensation. No amount of pay could have secured more conscientious and faithful aid, day after day for many months. Regardless of the weather, or, I suspect, very often regardless of his personal concerns, Sr. Chávez either worked as systematic informant or accompanied one or the other of the investigators on endless visits, opening many doors to them which otherwise would have been closed. When not actively assisting, he wrote lengthy accounts of various phases of town life. A person of some eminence in the town, as well as belonging to the dominant political group, he had served as town Treasurer and was a member of the committee which administered the town's forest lands.

The hundreds of Cherán residents who aided us at one time or another cannot, of course, be listed. Many gave long hours of their time and courteous and intelligent aid on numerous problems. Essentially, this report is their report and the outsiders acted primarily as guides, recorders, and interpreters. That the people of Cherán were willing to do this was due partly to the unreserved cooperation of the municipal authorities who endorsed the study on every occasion. I am also indebted to the Executive Authority of the State of Michoacán for providing me with the proper introduction to the town.

A word should be said about field methods at this point. Obviously, working with a large group of investigators presents special problems. Perhaps the most important special technique was to arrange to have all field notes transcribed at the earliest possible moment.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

426 In addition to the above-described types of loans, there are also loans at interest for which normally no security is offered. These loans are usually made by persons within the village and rarely exceed $100 in amount. Interest is normally 10 percent per annum. In some cases it is stipulated that the debt is to be canceled upon the death of the debtor. In other instances the debt becomes a charge against [428] the estate of the debtor. If the possessions of the debtor at death are insufficient to pay the debt, it is not transmitted to his sons. However, according to Pedro Chávez, the sons probably would make every effort to pay such a debt because of the strongly held belief that a person [775] dying with debts cannot rest in peace until the debts are paid.

All transactions involving loans are in writing, although they are not registered at the *municipio*.

COSTS OF PRODUCTION AND INCOME

433 Some further insight into production prob-
434 lems may be gained by detailed studies of
128 specific activities. These data throw light upon the relative profitability of such activities and also provide information on income. Not all activities are covered in the ensuing discussion, nor are the data equally reliable in each category. Such activities as witchcraft or midwifery are not included; the labor factor in beekeeping or fruit growing is impossible to ascertain. An activity followed by only a few individuals merits less attention than one followed by many.

Not only is the treatment of topics uneven, but the income data are subject to misinterpretation. It must be emphasized that virtually no one in Cherán, except a few "rich" farmers or storekeepers, has only one occupation. Consequently, any effort to establish annual income on the basis of figures in this section would be grossly misleading. Finally, it should be noted that not all the activities discussed below are productive. Because of the problem of income, I have considered a number of "service" occupations in this section.

AGRICULTURE

243 *Maize.*—Data on farm production were diffi-
433 cult to obtain. On no other subject is there so
124

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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124 much secrecy or misleading information given. 243 Three sources of information were used: (1) 433 Data from farmers about their own activities. All this information is suspect, even after eliminating obviously false answers. (2) Data from Agustín Rangel, who was interested in establishing himself as a farmer and probably was a good and relatively unbiased observer. (3) Observation of farm practices and participation in harvests on roughly measured fields. Actual measurement of fields was undesirable and would have caused trouble.

243 In table 1 are given the various data collected on farm yields. The average of figures given 433 by farmers is about the top figure given by Rangel for average land in a poor year. It is slightly above the figure for the yield of average land in a poor year as secured by participation in the harvest. The cross checks suggest the figures given by farmers are on the whole plausible although probably low. The figures given by any individual farmer, however, may be quite incorrect. This should be borne in mind throughout the discussion.

TABLE 1.—*Estimates of maize yields in Cherán*

ESTIMATE BY OWNERS

Number of hectares cultivated	Yield (per hectare) in—		Value of crop
	Cargas	*Fanegas*	
2½	40	30	.....
10½	180	135	.....
½	47	5¼	.....
½[2]	20	15	$90–110
½[2]	10	7½	60– 70
½[2]	5	3¾	25
½[2]	10	7½	65
¼[3] (early-frost area)	3	2¼	15
4	90	70	350–400
1	10	7½	40
1½	10	7½	40
½	12	9	55
½	12	9	55
Average	...	14%	.....

ESTIMATE BY AGUSTIN RANGEL

Type of land and year	Average yield per hectare	
	Cargas	*Fanegas*
Best land:		
Average year	40	30
Bad year	15–25	11¼–18¾
Average land:		
Average year	30	22½
Bad year	5–20	3¾–15
Poor land	.....	1½

[1] An exceptionally rich "joya," a fertile depression in the mountains fertilized by drainage from surrounding slopes.

[2] This is a stupendous yield, if true, but the land is said to be exceptionally located, with fertilization from adjoining slopes.

[3] Data in this line are typical of information from owners. One area given as ¼ hectare yields a crop to be expected of a full hectare; on inspection, it proved to be nearly 3 hectares.

[124]

236 year, or a total of $442.50 to $492.50 a year.
434 Deducting expenses of $345 leaves a return on the investment of $107.50 to $147.50. As indicated before, these figures are suspect. The owner of this flock is not believed to be
[124] very truthful on financial matters. For example, he claimed to own 20 sheep; Augustín Rangel said he had over 200. He is, though, a hard-headed storekeeper and farmer who would not keep sheep if they were not profitable. The most suspect item in the calculations is the amount of wool per sheep.

231 The evaluation of the role of the burro is as difficult as in the case of oxen. Burros reduce
434 the cost of numerous operations by saving the rental of animals, they facilitate such tasks as bringing in wood (which otherwise would be carried in by the woodcutter rather than on rented animals), and they may be rented. Burros involve little investment—$30 to $40—but they do require attention while in pasture and the provision of feed when kept at home. Although burros not in use are often lent, they
[427] sometimes are rented. Information on rentals is contradictory; at the harvest season, when demand is highest, rentals are probably about 50 centavos a day plus feed for the animals.

313 The ensuing topics are dealt with in summary form to bring out the essential factors of
434 capital, labor costs, cost of materials, and
433 income.

WOODWORKING

Shake making:

Tools:

Ax, wedges, machete, splitting tool

Product:

[435] ½ irepita (an irepita, or bundle, is 400) a day at $5.00

Profits (return on labor, less interest on capital, etc.) $2.50

Comment: Shake making is a well-paying occupation, but profits are less than the data above suggest. Shakes are made either only to order or are sold in Uruapan or some other Mestizo center. In the latter case the man may work regularly, but must spend 1 or 2 days a week taking his product to market. Neither does the estimated result for a day's labor include the time spent searching for a suitable tree. Usually only a 5-day week or less is worked and the season is confined to the rainy period. As a result, shake makers must shift to other work, such as plank making, tie cutting, farming, etc. The term "profits" is loosely used throughout, as wages are often included.

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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in communities other than Paracho, places which are culturally considerably more Indian than is Paracho.

When we inquired into the question of ethnic identification, it soon became apparent that the concept of biological race was not important in the town. Members of the populace generally regard themselves either as "sons of the pueblo" or as having come to Paracho from elsewhere. Consequently when the question was put, "To what race do your parents belong?" responses ranged from "I don't know" through "They came from here" or "They were born here" to "We are all people of Paracho" or even "All the 'Romeros' are one family, they all belong to the same race." The question was therefore worded either, "Are your parents native (*natural*), Mestizo or what?" or, "Are your parents Indians, Spanish (*de razon*) or what?" and — usually in one of these two forms — the question was put to 256 people.[4] It was our purpose to standardize the question, to secure comparable results, and yet to leave the way open for free elaboration.

The field team consisted of a physical anthropologist, the able field assistant, Prof. Pablo Valesquez G., who conducted the interviews connected with the mensurational part of the study, and the social anthropologist. The responses to the question were noted as heard, together with such supplementary explanations as the informants occasionally proffered. This record was kept independently of that made by the field assistant and both have been utilized.

Two hundred and eighty-nine of the parents were reported as being Indian and 167 as being Mestizo. Although almost all persons were able and willing to make the judgment it did not always carry much conviction and one got the impression that emotional involvement was usually totally lacking.

The series may be further analysed to note the frequency with which children report similarities or differences in ethnic identification between parents. In the great preponderance of instances children reported both parents to be of the same ethnic background, either both Mestizo or both Indian. This regularity of parallel responses is at least in part derived from the nature of the formal interview, where it is easier to give the same answer to the same question about two individuals than it is to consider the question twice. It is interesting, however, to note that where "mixed" parentage was mentioned, a significantly larger number of respondents reported their fathers as Mestizos and their mothers as Indian than did the reverse. The more frequent mention of Indian mothers may represent an overt expression of a realization that the fathers — or rather, the men in general — are the ones who enter into the Mestizo-like activities (com-

[4] In the tabulations which follow "Indian" includes responses recorded as *Indio, Indigena, Natural*, and Tarascan; "Mestizo" includes responses recorded as *Mesclado, Cruzado, A la razon, Mestizo*, half and half, revueltos, and white.

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
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The village of Cherán is primarily an agricultural village, at an elevation of approximately 8500 feet, in the mountains between Pátzcuaro and Uruapan, Michoacán, México. The climate consequently is temperate. In comparison with other villages of the region, Cherán is relatively prosperous and it is probable that the diet is better than in the majority of Tarascan towns. In terms of Tarascan standards, probably only between ten and twenty percent of the population is to be classed as "poor". On the other hand, there are no markedly wealthy families.

Three methods of collecting data were used. One, followed primarily by Sra. Rendón, was the collection of a complete list of foods eaten and the compilation of a large number of menus of actual meals for as many families as was possible. In addition, the entire staff collected recipes for specific dishes. These, although of ethnographic interest, were of little use in the present study. Finally, the cooperation of a number of literate families was enlisted to get a complete record of the food consumed over a fifteen day period.

The final method naturally was the most valuable. Unfortunately, the number of cooperating families was small. Moreover, the accuracy of the returns probably varied considerably. In many cases, the amount of money spent was given rather than the quantity purchased but, as very detailed studies of prices had been made it was possible to equate prices and quantities with some accuracy. One considerable source of error is the amount of vegetables such as cabbage, greens, and so on gathered from gardens or from woods. In addition, a certain amount of fruit or "snacks", purchased in the market or from street vendors had to be estimated from knowledge of general habits. The most specific records covered only a period in the late Fall and do not take into account some slight seasonal variations in the diet. Despite all these deficiencies, the various types of data seem to point to the same general conclusions, and we believe that these are reasonably valid if the specific results are viewed with proper reserve.

An average weekly diet for a Cherán adult is presented in table I.[2]

in 1941-1942. The study formed a part of the Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascan Indians, a joint enterprise of the University of California, the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. Analysis of the data was made by the junior author, Evelyn Hatcher.

[2] In compiling the tables, the following sources were used: Chatfield and Adams, **Proximate Composition of American Food Materials**, United States Department of Agriculture Circular N° 549, 1940: Chatfield and McLaughlin, **Proximate Composition of Fresh Fruits**, United States Depart-